437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
● [411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[278] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

241 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[499] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

320 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
284 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and bins of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

524 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

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SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū's, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

224 411 slightly toward its point, the opposite end being provided with a flaring mouth-piece two to three inches in diameter. It is made a follows: The innermost part consists of two pieces of palm-wood, each containing a groove, and forming, when placed together, a perfectly even-bored tube about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and with a wall half to three-quarters of an inch thick. The two halves of this tube are bound firmly together at from three to five points along its length by means of thin, narrow strips of pitigua, or with one of the stout fibers from the base of the leaf of the palma real. This binding is merely to hold the two halves of the tube together while they are being completely wrapped, which is done with strips of pitigua about one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and one-quarter of an inch in width. It is wrapped tightly and very evenly from end to end in such manner as to completely cover the wood. This spiral wrapping of so long an object [284] requires a great length of these narrow strips. As the end of one strip is reached, the end of the next is inserted in such a manner as to be held firmly in place and to make each strip bind the next. This pitigua wrapping is in turn covered and made waterproof by a coating of brea, or wax, as above mentioned. On some of the blow-guns a hump is made in the brea at a point a short distance in front of the mouth-piece. This serves as a kind of sight by which to take aim, though obviously it is not a very accurate gauge, consequently the aiming is largely a matter of calculation by the hunter, and accuracy is acquired only by long practice. The

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

mouth-piece of the blow-gun is made of a more or less funnel-shape piece of wood which fits to the larger end of the gun. The implement is shot by blowing the breath suddenly, though not too forcibly, through this mouth-piece.

In this tube are shot very light palm-wood darts, called mō'ic or hambi tsū'ta, a foot or so in length and not much thicker than a heavy knitting-needle. Their lightness is overcome and the darts are given force by means of a weight of clay, called ya 'tū'mita, placed near the point. To make them fit in the tube in such a manner as to be air-tight, and thus give the air an opportunity to exert its force upon them, a small wad of cotton, called kūmi ti'ns, is wound about the dart near its middle. One of these darts is shown in fig. 7, *a*. Near the point may be seen the pear-shape clay weight, and about its middle the cotton wad. Such a small shaft would be of little service even

FIG. 7.—*a*, Dart of blow-gun; *b*, Quiver for blow-gun.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

in killing small birds if it were not for the fact that its tip is poisoned. The tip is sharply pointed and is covered for perhaps three-quarters of an inch back from its point with a vegetal poison called ha'mbi, consisting of the juice of a large tree growing in only a few places in the vicinity. This sap is gathered after the manner of rubber milk or the sande juice used in making torches. It is very viscous, and runs very slowly from a cut in the tree; in fact it is claimed that a few ounces only may be obtained from a tree in the course of a day. The juice dries within a few days, becoming solid and black or dark-brown in color. To get this into such a consistency that it may be applied to the points of the darts, a few drops of lemon or lime juice are added on one side of the receptacle in which it is kept, and a small amount of the poison worked up with this juice into a paste by means of a small paddle. The points are then dipped into this and revolved in order that they may be completely covered with it. They are then carefully laid out with a low support just back of the point so as to keep the poison from touching anything, and sufficiently low to prevent the paste from flowing back from the tip to any extent. The paste dries evenly around the point in about an hour and finally becomes very hard. When in this condition it will not rub off with ordinary friction, but immediately it comes into contact with liquid it dissolves. Thus, when a dart enters the body of a bird, a small mammal, or even a man, the poison quickly passes into the circulation. It is said to be very virulent poison and that

[of the blowgun dart.--Ed.]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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death ensues within a few minutes, even in men or large mammals. The palm-wood from which the darts are made is very tough and ordinarily would break with difficulty, hence one of them shot into the body of an animal, especially a man or a monkey, could be easily withdrawn. To overcome this, two slight incisions are made around the shaft, just back of the poisoned tip, about a quarter of an inch apart, so that if the shaft enters a body it is almost certain to break with the force of the blow at one or the other of these incisions. In case the dart does not break of its own accord, it is quite sure to break if an attempt is made to extract it, and in either event the poisoned tip is left in the flesh of the victim. Great care must be exercised in making and in handling these darts in order that the owner himself does not get even a small amount of the poison into his system through an abrasion of the skin or by pricking himself with one of the sharp points, for it is claimed that such an accident would almost surely prove fatal. However, without thorough experimentation with this poison it is impossible to vouch for the extreme virulence attributed to it by the Cayapa. There seems, in fact, some reason to doubt its very rapid action on the larger mammals, though in the case of small mammals and birds it is undoubtedly very effective.

A small carrying case, or quiver, called ha'mbi pa''ki, such as that shown in fig. 7, *b*, is made especially for blow-gun darts. It consists of a bamboo tube, about an inch longer than the darts, which is filled with soft fibers from the young leaves of a certain species of palm,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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the fibers being placed vertically in the tube. This filler is called hambī yata'pī. The palm fibers protect the points of the darts and also prevent abrasion of the clay weights. The rear or unpoisoned ends of the darts project an inch or so above the filling, the projecting end serving as an easy means of extracting the darts as needed. In the above mentioned illustration the ends of some of the darts are shown projecting above the rim of the quiver. In actual use the ends of the darts are usually below the level of this rim and are thus afforded all possible protection. In making the drawing for this illustration it seemed desirable to show the ends of some of the darts, hence they were pulled up into view above the rim.

The usual method is to poison the points and make the incisions above mentioned directly back of the points, and then to place these incomplete darts in a mass in the center of the quiver. Attached to the quiver is a small receptacle, called *t*ō'kūbī, usually a little wickerwork basket, in which clay is carried. Also there is attached to the quiver a small calabash or other receptacle for cotton, called hambī kō-a'iū. These appurtenances enable the hunter to put the clay weight and the wad on the darts as fast as needed. This is necessary, since if they were prepared in any considerable numbers and not used, the clay and the cotton would be of no service later. Usually three or four darts at a time are weighted and wadded ready for use and then carefully placed, each one by itself, near the outer margin of the palm-fiber filler. The quiver is suspended upon the hunter's back by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

means of a string, called ya"tcua, which passes about the neck. 224 411

The blow-gun is carried over the shoulder or in the hand, but always with the point forward, since if it were reversed there would be danger of the mouth-piece being broken in passing through the jungle. When not in use the blow-gun is carefully keep in such position that no uneven strain comes upon any part of it, causing it to bend and thus to spoil its efficiency. It is frequently placed in the thatch under the eaves or in the loft of the house, but often it is suspended vertically by means of a string.

The blow-gun is an excellent and effective weapon for hunting all sorts of mammals and birds which live in trees or otherwise above the ground level, but for those which live always upon the ground and for birds on the wing this instrument is of little use, since it is not feasible to shoot horizontally or, in fact, at any considerable angle to the perpendicular, owing to the deflection due to gravity. Especially is this the case if the object shot at is small. The best results are obtained by getting almost directly under the object to be shot at and by this means practically overcoming the influence of gravity. Thus the blow-gun is especially used in shooting those mammals and birds, such as monkeys, squirrels, guatins, parrots, toucans, and a variety of other species, which are almost always to be found in trees.

The Cayapa were at all times inclined to be peaceable, 126 but wars were sometimes forced upon the most peace- 721

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

726 loving. It is said that on those rare occasions when the Cayapa engaged in hostilities, the blow-gun was used as a weapon, though the lance, called tsû'ta, seems to have been preferred. This weapon, six or seven feet in length, is made entirely of palm-wood, with a simple, very sharp point. A rude lance is used even at the present time in hunting certain mammals, especially the guanta (Cayapa wala'mbû), a large rodent which lives in a burrow. Armed with a lance, the hunter sits near the entrance to one of these burrows until the guanta comes out to feed, when he is able to spear it. On rare occasions also the lance is still used in hunting the wild hog and the peccary, which are both still fairly abundant in the jungle.

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The bow and arrow, the use of which is claimed to have been derived by the Cayapa from their old enemies, the former inhabitants of the Rio Cayapas, is not very clearly remembered by them, for the reason that it has not been in use for many years. The arrows are said to have been about a yard in length with shafts made from a species of wild cane, called by the Spanish name caña brava and by the Cayapa nya'nyi. The points were made of hard palm-wood. The bow and arrow appear, however, to have been comparatively little used by them at any time, and almost never as an implement for hunting. No names other than the Spanish terms for these two weapons could be learned.

224 No nets or snares are used by the Cayapa in the capture of mammals or birds, and only one form of trap is employed. This is the small deadfall shown in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

old mountain home at Pueblo Viejo and wiped their enemies out of existence.

In the only instance of war which the Cayapa describe fully, it appears that they organized themselves into war-parties and systematically invaded the enemy's territory. Predatory raiding was never practised by them, perhaps on account of their isolated position as well as by reason of their non-militant character.

The lance was the chief weapon used in war, though the bow and arrow seem to have been used to a slight extent in more recent times. The blow-gun with its poisoned dart was also used in war to some extent. It is claimed that the pre-Cayapa inhabitants of this region used throwing-stones with good effect. The sling, however, appears to have been unknown, the stones being simply thrown with the hand.

MANUFACTURES

Canoe-making and Canoeing

The rivers of the Cayapa region provide practically the only means of travel until the limit of navigation by canoe is reached. In fact, the streams provide almost the only means of travel at all, owing to the density of the jungle and to the fact that practically all of the Cayapa live along the rivers below the limit of navigation. The few trails through the higher mountains are almost never used except when journeys to the interior are made. On the other hand, there are various short trails extending back into the hills

juice called vinagre in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /machete/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pounded on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies, sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. The main animals are large rodents called guanta /walámbu/, a smaller rodent called guatin /kúyu/, peccary /netúču/, jaguar /kéla/, puma /lʸukéla/, monkey /ečéču/, squirrel /yámbu/, and the armadillo /čilʸímbu/. Large birds are shot whenever possible and include toucans /čandútu/, the wild turkey /éla/, and a hawk /kuyálʸu/. At the present time, hunting is done almost entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is generally a small operation involving no more than three